1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

Introduction

114 shall call Daredih, was a traditional agricultural village long
167 before Jamshedpur was built; it lies about three miles from the city and while it is the native village of some of its inhabitants, most are migrants from the surrounding countryside. Since even those for whom it is a native village (and who have adjoining agricultural land) generally work in Jamshedpur, it is possible to compare them with the migrant industrial workers so that the effects of migration may be examined. Exclusively rural villages lying far away from Jamshedpur constituted something of a base-line from which to view the urban-industrial effects of Jamshedpur on Santal culture. The rural village in which I spent the most time and which I shall call Fanderkuta, lies in Mayurbhanj about fifty miles from Jamshedpur. Other villages in Mayurbhanj and Seraikela were visited, and one in Mayurbhanj was repeatedly used for control purposes.

• 128 Since the subject matter at hand is cultural change, a broadly chronological order of presentation has been followed. The base line for change, though constructed from both historical accounts and contemporary observations of rural villages, is treated first. This is followed by an account of those changes associated with the market economy and migration to industrial employment. The most recent Santal historical experience, including the introduction of political democracy and the emergence of an indigenous great tradition, terminates the presentation of the facts of change. On the basis of this historical evidence and with an eye on general theoretical considerations, the final portion of this work is concerned with the rank concession syndrome and its various applications.

1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

121 acts which represent and give recognition to existing social units. But apart from these official boundary markers, and perhaps even more important, are the "shared understandings" and the countless similar behavior patterns and similar material manifestations of behavior which characterize a people.

184 773 Among the cultural bonds which pertain to all Santal directly (as opposed to those which are exclusively the property of the various component social units of Santal society) is a myth of creation which comes as close to being an official symbol of unity and a constitution as traditional Santal society has attained. However there are numerous versions of this myth due to the wide dispersion of the Santal, and there are very few Santal who are in possession of more than fragments of a complete version. Culshaw reports that the myth is better known among the older generation and suggests that it is dying out; several ceremonies in which it is normally recited appear to be disappearing in the Bankura District of Bengal where Culshaw gathered his data.[2] Since there are also lengthy accounts of the myth in earlier works,[3] one is tempted to accept the conclusion that knowledge of the myth has declined generally. It must, however, be taken into account that it was formerly the custom to find informants who could elaborate an "authoritative" version of tradition. Also, it is often the case among the Santal, as others, that older men become specialists in ritual knowledge, so that absence of such knowledge among the young may not indicate that the knowledge is disappearing.

114 178 773

773 128 Since numerous accounts and several versions of the myth appear in the literature, only those major themes which are almost always present wherever there are Santal will be reported here.

[2] Culshaw 1949.

[3] Dalton 1872; Bodding 1942, originally 1887.

2: Skreferud M-S (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

[p.vii]

EDITOR'S PREFACE

It having proved impossible to get this translation published before the author's death the manuscript was left in the care of Professor O. Solberg, who had repeatedly rendered invaluable assistance in bringing out other important works of his and who has since then published his SANTAL RIDDLES and his WITCHCRAFT AMONG THE SANTALS, Oslo 1940. At his request I have undertaken to act as editor of the translation, and I am happy to be able to do this last service to a deceased friend. 128 •

I have considered it to be my duty to check the translation with the original Santal text wherever I was in doubt, but I have only occasionally found it necessary to make some slight and insignificant verbal changes. On the whole I have faithfully reproduced the readings of the manuscript.

I have felt more free with regard to the numerous and sometimes rather long notes which had been added and which were sometimes apt to divert the reader's attention from the text itself. Since the translation was drafted some important works of our author have been published, and his SANTAL DICTIONARY, Oslo 1932—1936, is in reality a comprehensive encyclopaedia of Santal lore. A reference to its statements usually gives full information about such details which would else have to be explained in lengthy notes. I have therefore to a considerable extent substituted such references for the notes of the manuscript.

The text here laid before the ethnologist is a genuine account of Santal traditions and institutions, taken down from the mouth of Kolean, an old Santal, who had learnt it from his own teacher. We cannot say how far back these traditional tales can be carried, from generation to generation. But as we have them before us, they are evidently the result of a comparatively long development. 115

We know nothing about the different phases of this development. It is evident that there are borrowings from Aryan sources, but it is also clear that a considerable portion is genuine Santal lore, and it is often difficult to distinguish between both elements. Thus the name Thakur of the vague supreme god seems to be Aryan; and such is certainly the case with his additional designation Jiu 'soul, spirit'. But that need not imply that the whole conception is Aryan. Several customs and institutions described in the text have admittedly been taken over from the Hindus, but also here there are numerous doubtful points, which only future research can clear up. 174 [776]

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

VIII

174 The account of the wanderings of the Santals does not make it possible for us to trace their way to their present home with anything like certainty, because it is usually impossible to identify the names of locality. It is true that the wanderings of the tribe in modern times seem to have been directed towards the east, and we seem to know that kindred tribes were formerly settled much farther to the west than at the present day. But we cannot say whether there may be traces of old migrations in the opposite direction below the traditional tales.

• 128 Kolean's narrative was noted down in the year 1871, and several changes have taken place since that time. Nobody would have been better qualified to draw attention to such innovations than our translator, and some remarks will be found in the Dictionary articles quoted in the notes. To try to bring the whole account up to date would, however, mean to interfere with its genuineness, and it would represent an enlargement in one direction only, towards our own days, while the antecedent stages of the development would remain in the dark. We do more justice to the traditional account, if we leave it as it was originally noted down.

The additions to Kolean's narrative have been taken from other, younger sources, and have not the same interest. They have been left as the translator had drafted them.

Sten Konow.

[p. 1]

FOREWORD

Fifty years ago, in 1887, the late Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud published The Traditions and Institutions of the Santhals, Hoṛkoren Mare Hapṛamko reak Katha, as a guide for the Santals, especially in the customary matters dealt with in the book, and also on account of its ethnological value. It was re-edited by me, in 1916 and 1929, only with a short preface and a few pages of fresh matter, added at the end, at the request of certain Santals. What here follows is a translation with a number of explanatory footnotes and some additional matter. As only a very few would be able to use the work in the original Santali; and as it is of considerable ethnological interest, I have repeatedly been asked to translate it. My translation is absolutely literal, in order to enable the reader, as far as possible, to understand the Santal mentality and way of expression. 128

With the exception of a short story of the Santal insurrection of 1855 the original work was taken down by Skrefsrud from the mouth of an old guru, named Kolean. According to a statement towards the end of the book the dictation was finished on the 15th of February, 1871. 115 128

Skrefsrud once told me, that he had hunted everywhere among the Santals to find a man who knew his people and their traditions and customs, and that Kolean without comparison was the best authority he had been able to find. Skrefsrud further told me, that the book contains absolutely nothing of his own, the whole being a faithful record of Kolean's words and language.

I cannot, however, help thinking that Skrefsrud had something to do with the arrangement. The language is easy and fine, and Kolean's narrative was based on oral tradition handed down verbatim by teacher to disciple, from generation to generation, a practice which, as Skrefsrud states in the Annual Report of the Mission for the year 1887—88, "has now fallen into disuse". 128 538

This does not exclude the possibility of our learning something from other sources, and some Santals have actually narrated things which Kolean did not mention. Sometimes we can see that such tales are adaptations of Hindu lore, as when some gurus maintain that their ancestors followed Rama to fight Ravona in Ceylon. In other cases, especially with regard to Santal customs and institutions, we may have to do with independent lines of tradition. 115 [177] [178] [538]

Kolean hailed, as he tells at the end, from a village called Pabsa in a "country" (rural district) called Paṇḍra in the district of Manbhum to the southwest of the Santal Parganas.

1 Cato Ets. Mus. — Bodding.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4.5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

[P. ix]

PREFACE TO THE 1st EDITION

This monograph embodies the results of my investigations specially in Mayurbhanj and the Santal Parganas and is based on the discovery of new materials regarding the ethnic life of the Santals. As will appear from the "Acknowledgements" that follow, I had to study the published accounts available, note them when necessary or comment upon them in course of my account. I am grateful to the anthropological scholars of the past in stimulating my interest and inspiring me to undertake personal field-work. And how far this venture, has contributed to the advancement of knowledge, is a matter for the world of arts and letters to judge.

128

122

In a reminiscent mood, I recall that it was about the year 1933 when I was a practising lawyer at Dumka, Santal Parganas, my friend late Anandi Nath Sen Gupta, Pleader, in course of a casual conversation, infected me with a taste for the study of Santal life. Then I contributed a number of articles to the leading Indian journals. My contributions attracted the kind attention of Sri K. C. Neogy, the Dewan of Mayurbhanj State, which has a large Santal population. In course of some correspondence with him, I wondered whether the state was interested in a smallish volume on the tribe. In reply, Sri K. C. Neogy wrote me in January 1938, from which I quote the following:

114

122

"I am glad that you are thinking of bringing out a comprehensive book on the Santals, incorporating your past writings on the subject. As you know we have a very large Santal population in Mayurbhanj, and would like to encourage a regular ethnological and anthropological survey of this as well as other aboriginal tribes inhabiting this state. I am sure the general features of Santal life are more or less uniform throughout the country, but at the same time I am almost sure that there are local variations as well. It is not for me to make any definite suggestion that you should post-

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114 pone your proposed publication pending a local study of the
122 Santals here, though I should very much like to see some local colour and background introduced in your work. In case, however, you feel interested in undertaking a study of our Santal population on the spot, I shall arrange for requisite facilities in that matter."

According to his assurance, the Mayurbhanj state gave me all possible facilities for a regular ethnological and anthro-
114 pological survey of its Santal population. In my field-work, I worked under the direction of late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy of Ranchi and I had the proud privilege of
• [128] looking upon him as my *guru*. He revised my Ms., suggested additions and even saw some of the proof-sheets. But before he could write the "Foreword" he had promised, Death removed the doyen of Indian anthropological scholars.

In the absence of the Foreword, I quote below his letters to me and Sri K. C. Neogy Dewan, containing his opinion on my monograph:—

MAN IN INDIA

Ranchi (India).

My dear Charu Babu,

I enclose the desired letter for Mr. Neogy. You may make use of it in any way you think. I trust you are doing quite well. I wish you every success in your literary ventures. I shall inform you before I go to Calcutta and shall be glad to have a report from you then (from you personally, if possible) of the progress your work is making. With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Sarat Chandra Roy.

(Enclosure)

Ranchi,
The 11th. Nov. 1939.

My dear Mr. Neogy,

I have been asked by Mr. Charulal Mukherjea to inform you what I think of the work he has been doing among the Santals of Mayurbhanj; and so I write this with great pleasure.

([illegible])

I have carefully read every page of the typescript of a monograph on the Santals prepared by him, and found it to be a work of real merit. Though it deals particularly with the Santals of Mayurbhanj state, he also touches upon some aspects of Santal culture that he observed among the Santals of Santal Parganas. This adds to the value of the book for purposes of comparative study. 114

I have no doubt that the book, when published, will supply a long-felt want. The Santals are one of the most important aboriginal tribes of India and it is unfortunate that until now no reliable book on Santal ethnology has been published in English. As a student of Indian ethnology, I am eagerly looking forward to the publication of Mr. Mukherjea's monograph under the auspices of the enlightened ruler of Mayurbhanj whose patronage of science and literature is well-known. [122]

K. C. Neogy, Esq. M.A.B.L.
Dewan, Mayurbhanj State

Yours sincerely
Sd. Sarat Chandra Roy.

But I must not fail to note the rest who helped me by their advice and guidance. Prominent among those who encouraged me were Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji, Dr. Girindra Sekhar Bose, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerji, Prof. Rangi Haldar, Prof. Girija Sankar Bhattacharya. Dr. Chatterji helped me out of an uncomfortable position by helping us to evolve alternative diacritical marks for the romanisation of Santali and Dr. Bose very kindly revised the appendix on sex-life and helped me with his suggestions. My friend, Mr. Subodh Roy of Chinsura relieved me by revising the proofs and my nephew, Sm. Haradhan Banerji, artist, helped me with the sketches on Santal material culture. My grateful thanks to them for their valuable help. 128

Last but not the least, I must acknowledge my debt of gratitude to my Santal friends of Dumka and Mayurbhanj, Mr. R. Kisku Rapaz, Asst. Headmaster, Dumka Zilla School, Mr. Bodhrai Manjhi of Dumka, Mr. Raghunath Manjhi, teacher. 000

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115 teacher, Rairangpur. Mr. Niranjan Manjhi of Baripada
128 helped me in the translation and transliteration of Santal folk-songs. The late Mr Jadabendra Manjhi of the [122] State Secretariat, Baripada, deputed by the state to help me in my studies, narrated to me many of the folk-tales incorporated in the book. It is sad to remember that he could 115 not see the work in print. Educated Santals of Rairangpur, Mayurbhanj, Messrs. Sanira Charan Manjhi, Sundar Mohan Manjhi, and Sunaram Soren threw much light on their manners and customs. Hosts of other names including those of Messrs. Ananta Manjhi, Routrai Manjhi Matu Manjhi and Surendra Manjhi of Baripada crowd round my memory and to those unnamed, I offer my cordial thanks.

122 It is difficult to complete the list of my helpers without a 114 further reference to the Mayurbhanj State. The present Dewan Major B. P. Pande and his Secretary, Mr. Rajagopalam gave [128] me facilities of Santal studies during my last trip to Mayurbhanj. The blocks of some of the illustrations were lent by the state and the hospitality of Mayurbhanj made my several visits there comfortable and worthwhile.

128 In conclusion, I would sincerely thank Sj. Nibaran Chandra Ghatak, teacher, Chinsura, my students Sms. Sisir Kumar De, B.Sc., Bipadbhanjan Sen, Purna Chandra Chatterjea, Tara Prasad Mukherji and Subodh Chandra Ganguly in connexion with the preparation of the Mss. together with the Index.

Charulal Mukherjea

Dumka, Santal Parganas.

N 6 Slightly abridged.

C.M.

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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[P. XVi]

PREFACE TO THE REVISED EDITION
1962

•128 The printing of this monograph (first edition) began early in 1940. Towards the latter part, as the publishers added in a note, "felt the want of antique paper in the market due to war-conditions" and "had to overcome the difficulty by printing the rest of the book (one-third of the whole) on hand-made paper. Technically, this is an unavoidable blemish....." they admitted.

But this 'blemish' became disastrous as the latter parts became thoroughly worm-eaten and as (according to the publishers), the Calcutta riots disrupted the book-binders, what happened to the rest of the formes, nobody knows.

The author had presented a number of copies to some scholars and European anthropologists and the Mayurbhanj State had bought one hundred copies; this represents in short the circulation of the 1st edition.

[122] When matters were at this stage, the West Bengal Government granted the author Rs. 2500 in 1958-59 as "encouragement to literature." This gesture helped the lame dog over a stile and formed the financial nucleus with which the reprinting of the book was undertaken by the good offices of Messrs. A. Mukherjee & Co. Private Ltd., 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta.

To make the monograph up-to-date, the chapters on Population and Santals and Civilisation and other relevant portions have been revised.

000 My cordial thanks to Sri Bhupati Mozumdar, former Minister, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal and Rai Harendra Nath Chaudhury, Minister of Education, for the interest they have evinced in the reprint of the work.

CHARU LAL MUKHERJEA.
Netaji Subhas Road,
Chinsura, West Bengal.

11. 7. 62.

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1952
AW42 Santal AW42

167 they are advancing, grazing and eating. But still they have not yet been extinguished from the face of the earth. They do not know where they will go next. Some have crossed the Ganges. It is not known why Thàkur (*the Creator*) is punishing them in this way.

• 128 114 We consider that it will be instructive at this stage to refer to the traditions as collected and commented upon by the previous antiquarians so that our story of Santal genesis and migration may be examined in the light of these.

114 167 Mr. E. G. Man, one of the earliest writers on the Santals,[1] quoting the opinion of Mr. Sutherland, Joint Magistrate of Monghyr, (1817) refers to the "Sonthars who emigrate (in the Santal Parganas) from the Beerbhoom and Ramghar district, and even from the Nagpur territory." An old [173] Santal told him that they came from "Chai Jumpa" in the Nagpur district, and their migrations were due to the oppressions of a "Mahadeo Singh". [101] They first called themselves "Shaitals" which was gradually corrupted into "Sonthars." Now they are known as Santals. Some of them say that they were originally "Kerwars."

[113] 1. Ref. *Sonthalia and the Sonthals*, E. G. Man, page 11.

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

[R63]

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC LIFE

The Santal traditions are silent as to whether Thàkur Jiu, after Man's first lapse at Khòj kaman, pronounced a curse on them that out of the sweat of their brow shall they earn their bread as on their Biblical prototype, but had He done so, it would have thrown some light on the strenuous struggle for existence of the Santal in this mundane world. Food, drink, shelter and the luxury of a fire have remained to this day as objects of man's instinctive worldly cravings, and Santals though no exception to the general rule, and while feeling the pinch like others, try to hide everything under a smile.

In this chapter, we propose to give the reader some idea of the material culture of the Santal on the basis of our enquiries in a number of villages in the state of Mayurbhanj[1].

The first item in the daily routine of the men is to rise from their sleep with the first grey of morning. They then have a wash and may indulge in a smoke of "puṅgis" (*a home-made cigarette made of sal-leaves*). Now their fields call them, and on they

[1] The villages visited were Katsirsi, Andharia, Tursibani, Tentulbati (Muruda) and Tikaripara (Rairangpur).

3s Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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[P. 233]

CHAPTER VIII

THE CYCLE OF SANTAL FESTIVALS

The Santals have a number of religious and semi-religious festivals. It seems as if the very heart of the trible beats in unison with the advent of these tribal events, for it is here that the Santal plunges into his primitive herd-life to worship the tribal deities, to sing the advent of the agricultural season, to make merry over a bumper crop and to ward off by magic, the pests that hinder the sweet and even flow of their common life.

In this, they do not distinguish much between the Hindu and the Santal festivals. One sees huge Santal rallies during the *Durga Puja* and the *Kali Puja* of the Hindus, and we shall see in detail how they join in the Hindu *Còròk Puja* (Hook-swinging festival) and have a version of the festival of their own. In course of the following pages, we propose to discuss the typical Santal festivals as we observed in the Santal Parganas, noting side by side the variations from the customary practices at Mayurbhanj, beginning our survey from the month of Baisakh and ending with Chaitra.[1]

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1. With acknowledgements to Mr. R. Kisku Rapaz and *Hòṛkorèn Mare Haprămko Reak' Katha.*

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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[P 273]

CHAPTER IX

RELIGION OF THE SANTALS

Santal Deities and Spirits

In course of the previous chapters, we have come across the names of various deities and spirits that the Santals propitiate during their festivals or at their private worships. We intend now to take them one by one so that we may discuss about their nature.

Supreme Deity (Thàkur Jiu, Siñ Boñga or Dhòròm)

While discussing the Santal theory of Creation, we have already familiarised the reader with Thàkur Jiu, who created this world. This religion of a faineant supreme deity struck Rev. Skrefsrud and other ethnographers, as being a theological conception behind their spiritual ideas. We have already hinted that we questioned the Santals of Mayurbhanj closely on the point. There were some who were ready to identify him with God, the only one and no second, but hundreds of Santals remained dumb-founded when asked to say if their "Dhòròm" is shapeless. As one goes deeper, one finds oneself in a bog. The educated Santals, living under Hindu influence, will readily identify their Supreme

31 Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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CHAPTER X

MAGIC AND WITCH-CRAFT

In course of the previous chapter, we have given the reader some idea as to how the Santal mind reacts in the presence of the mysteries of life. We have seen that they have elaborate rituals to propitiate the deities, with whom they people this world. In the present chapter, we shall see how they deal with the super-normal phenomena. That "there are more things in heaven and earth" than is dreamt of in one's philosophy is the conclusion of puzzled humanity at large, and the Santals have their own special methods of dealing with them by magical practices.

To Remove Drought

When there is a drought, and the agricultural well-being of the tribe is thus threatened, several Santal villages combine together and subscribe funds for the propitiation of *Sima Boṅgas* (the boundary deities). Some men fall in a trance. These men, inspired with oracular powers, are requested to state reasons for the calamity that has befallen the tribe and to suggest remedies. Generally, the tribal troubles are hinted by those who impersonate the invisible gods, and solemn assurances are held out

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
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CHAPTER XI

SANTAL FOLK-LORE

121 From the very dawn of human society, man has tried to explain the mysteries of creation and life by means of stories. This is true both of civilized and unlettered folk who sought thereby to throw some light on inexplicable phenomena by weaving tales round them to satisfy the hunger for knowledge.

121 538 We are not out here to trace the origin of myths and legends, but wish to introduce to the reader the wealth of Santal folk-lore with the idea that it might illuminate the dim recesses of the Santal mind, and show how they think and feel in the presence of the baffling mysteries of life and how they interpret them.

538 Just like the grand-mother of the Bengali household, the Old Mañjhi of the Santal villages is the repository of these tales. Men, old and young, gather round him in moments of leisure and listen to him in rapt attention as he tells his stories seasoning them with flashes of humour, propounding riddles to the listeners and by adorning the stories with morals as the experience of his ripe old age.

[128] [126] In course of the following pages we shall give the readers a collection of such tales as gathered by us at Mayurbhanj.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

[Introductory, P. Xi]

PREFACE

This book is an attempt to give a systematic account of the manners and customs, laws and government, religious beliefs, origin and ethnological affinities of the Santals of the Santal Parganas. 121

The author from 1931 to 1934 collected most of his data from twenty-two villages of the different Damin areas of the Santal Parganas. Later on in 1944 and 1945 he paid occasional visits to some villages outside Damin also. He is of the opinion that not much appreciable change had taken place within the following years of the Santals of the Santal Parganas. 114 [178]

In this book the author has not devoted a great deal to matters which have already been fully described in authoritative works such as folklore, folk songs, Santal disease, medicine and language. 121

The author gladly takes this opportunity to record his grateful thanks to many colleagues who have helped him with valued suggestions and criticisms. He is particularly indebted to the late Dr. Panchanan Mitra, former Head of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, who helped him by giving valued suggestions and encouragement. To Mr. D. Rangiya and Mr. J.D. Mehra, thanks are due for the revision of the proof sheets. Many others have helped but the following names may be specially mentioned viz: Mr. I.P.S. Monga, Mr. S.C. Tiwari, Mr. A. Sharma, Mr. P.N. Gulati, Mr. K. Guha, Mr. H.L. Seth (Artist) and Mr. J.D. Mavalwala.

P.C.B.

128 • 000

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

case. The coefficient of correlation that has been arrived at, amounts to 0.28. 141

7. *External Orbital Breadth and Orbito Nasal Curve* :—These anthropometric measurements reveal a direct mutual dependence, for they have been found in possession of a value of the co-efficient of correlation which stands exactly midway between the value representing a fair degree of correlation (0.50) and complete harmony or correlation (1.00). The title of substantive correlation may be assigned to the value of the co-efficient (0.75) that we get in this case.

8. *Height Vertex and Maximum Width*—Once again, we get a positive correlation between the two variables under consideration, the actual co-efficient standing at 0.24.

The co-efficient of mean square contingency*. "Prof. Karl Pearson's coefficient of mean square contingency permits the measurement on a scale from zero to unity of the degree of association of pairs of attributes, without any assumption as to their continuous distribution in a scale variation and irrespective of the order in which these pairs of attributes occur. Thus, if it is desired to measure the association between hair colour and eye colour or between type of offense and hair colour, such a co-efficient is most useful. What the co-efficient of mean square contingency actually measures is the degree to which the various combinations of pairs of attributes depart from a purely chance distribution or from independence. According to the law of probability if the frequency of A_n's be denoted by (A_n) and the 128 141

*The American Criminal, E.A. Hooton. p. 53.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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frequency of B_α's by (B_α), and the frequency of objects or individuals possessing both characters $(A_\alpha B_\alpha)$, then if A's and B's be completely independent in the universe at large $(A_\alpha B_\alpha) = \frac{(A_\alpha)(B_\alpha)}{N} = (A_\alpha B_\alpha)_0$. In other words the expected Frequency of combination of pairs of attributes is equal to the product of the total number of frequencies of attributes A in the series and the total number of frequencies of attribute B in the series divided by N (the total number of observations of the series). $(A_\alpha B_\alpha)_0$ may be called the INDEPENDENCE FREQUENCY. The coefficient of mean square contingency is based upon the difference between the expected or independence frequencies and the actual frequencies. However, since some of the differences are minus and some are plus, a mere addition might cancel them out. Therefore, in order to obviate the difficulty the differences are squared and expressed as a ratio of the expected frequencies. Thus we have

$$\Sigma \left(\frac{(A_\alpha B_\alpha) - (A_\alpha B_\alpha)_0}{(A_\alpha B_\alpha)_0} \right)^2$$

and by reduction, since the sum of both the (AB)'s and the $(AB)_0$'s is equal to the total number of observations, N:

$$\Sigma \left(\frac{(A_\alpha B_\alpha)^2}{(A_\alpha B_\alpha)_0} \right) - N$$

The expression in brackets is then the sum of the squares of the actual frequencies of the pairs of attributes divided by their expected (independence) frequencies. If this expression be denoted by S, we have for C, the coefficient of mean square contingency, $C = \sqrt{\frac{S-N}{S}}$. This coefficient expresses on a scale

4: Biswas - D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
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SANTAL PARGANAS

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between zero and unity the extent to which the pairs of attributes in their actual combinations depart from chance expectation."

"The coefficient of Mean Square cotingency can be zero only when there is no deviation from the Independent Frequency in any compartment of the table. Such a condition cannot be realized in limited samples and consequently the coefficient is more than zero in any case. In other words, some part of the value of the coefficient is attributable to the sampling process. A correction for this may be introduced, but this is hardly necessary if the coefficient is interpreted with caution. In any extent, the coefficient indicates nothing more than the extept to which the associations of the two attributes depart from indepen-lence."

1. Association between the hair colour and eye colour of Santals.

As seen before in a study of physical observation the majority of our subjects have black hair (94.0 p.c) and the eye colour is dark-brown (corresponding to No. 3 of Martin's eye-chart, in 89.0 percent instances.

(i) The number of individuls with black colour of hair but without the eyes of dark brown colour =12 *i.e.* A_2 in the Formula=12.

(ii) The number of individuals having dark-brown eyes, but not black hair, *i.e.* B_2 =6.

(iii) The number of individuals, in whom both the attributes (*i.e.* black hair and dark brown eyes) are present =82. *i.e.* (A_1B_1) in the formula=82.

1 [Erratum: this should read "independence." Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix -- Analyst]

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141 Therefore Expected Frequency $(A_\alpha B_\alpha)_0$ can be found out by the application of the relation $(A_\alpha B_\alpha)_0 = \frac{(A_\alpha)(B_\alpha)}{N}$. Hence $(A_\alpha B_\alpha) = \frac{22 \times 6}{100} = 0.72$.

C, the coefficient of Mean square contingency $= \sqrt{\frac{S-N}{S}}$ where S=sum of the squares of the actual frequencies of the pairs of attributes, ÷Independence frequencies. From our data $S = \frac{(12)^2+(6)^2}{0.72} = \frac{180}{0.72} = 250$

$\therefore C = \sqrt{\frac{250-100}{250}} = \sqrt{\frac{15}{25}} = \frac{3.8}{5} = 0.76$

Thus we find that the coefficient of Mean Square contingency which determines the association between the Hair Colour and Eye Colour of our Santal subjects is 0.76 (below unity). In other words the pairs of attributes under consideration (Hair Colour and Eye colour) in actual combinations depart from chance expectation to a considerable extent.

128 **2. Association between the skin colour and eye colour of Santals:**
141 We have already noted under physical observations
142 that a clear majority of Santals show a dark brown colour on the skin as well as in their eyes. The former class is represented by 98.0 percent individuals, and 89.0 percent individuals can be included in the latter classification.

It is further brought out that there are only ten individuals in a total of hundred whom we have studied, who have dark brown skins alright but without dark
128 eyes. On the other hand not a single individual exists
141 having eyes of a dark-brown colour, without the skin tinted with the corresponding colour. So that in the

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mathematical relation that enables us to arrive at the expected or independent frequency $(A_\alpha B_\alpha)_0$, Am = 10 and $B_\alpha = 0$. 128 • 141

FORMULA—Independent Frequency $= \frac{(A_\alpha)\ (B_\alpha)}{N}$, where N in the denominator represents the number of individuals examined for the pair of attributes under investigation.

Hence we get on the actual application of the values, the value of $(A_\alpha B_\alpha)$, or Independent Frequency $= \frac{10\ (Zero)}{100} = 0$ Actual counting reveals that both the attributes (A_α and B_α) are present in no less than ninety (90) individuals, i.e. $(A_\alpha B_\alpha) = 90$.

Now, in order to find out the coefficient of mean of the actual frequencies of the pairs of attributes square contingency, we must know S; S stands for the sum of the squares divided by Independence Frequencies. S, according to our data $\frac{(10)^2+(0)^2}{0} = \frac{100}{Zero} = (Infinite)$
Therefore C or the coefficient of Mean Square contingency $= \sqrt{\frac{S-N}{S}} = \sqrt{\frac{\infty-100}{\infty}} =$ zero

The zero value of the coefficient implies that there is no deviation from the Independent Frequency, a condition which is a rare occurrence in limited samples.

3. Association between colour of skin and hair colour of Santals.

While studying the physical features of Santals, we noted that a majority of them (94.0 p.c. have black hair and that in a greater majority still (98.0 p.c.) they possess skins of dark-brown colour. [142]

1 2 [Errata: these should read "independence."
A, A Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix - Analyst]

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•128
141 It has been further noted that six percent individuals show a dark-brown skin colour, but not the presence of black hair. They can be represented by A_n in the formula to find out the Independence Frequency. Those who show vice versa features i.e. (black hair minus Dark-Brown Skin) are accounted by 38 in a total of hundred ($N=100$). We can call them by the symbol B_n in the formula for Independnce Frequency. The remaining individuals, who constitute fifty six percent of the aggregate possessed both attributes (B_n B_n).

Independence Freguency[1] $(A_n\ B_n)_0 = \frac{(A_n\ B_n)}{N} = \frac{6 \times 38}{100} = 2.28$

The coefficient of Mean Square contingency, $C = \sqrt{\frac{S-N}{S}}$, where S and N have their usual meanings.

S according to our data $= \frac{(A_n)^2 + (B_n)^2}{(A_n\ B_n)_0} = \frac{(6)^2 + (38)^2}{2.28}$

$= \frac{1480}{2.28} = 649.1$

$\therefore\ C = \sqrt{\frac{S-N}{S}} = \sqrt{\frac{649.1-100}{649.1}} = \sqrt{\frac{549.1}{649.1}}$

$= \frac{23.4}{25.4} = 0.9$

The numerical value of the coefficient of Mean Square contingency in this case can be interpreted as drifting in a remarkable measure from chance expectation of the attributes (skin colour and hair colour) when seen in actual combinations.

1 [Erratum: this should read "frequency." Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix -- Analyst]

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Dermatoglyphics of the Santals.

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[128] **Palmar Prints**: In the following pages I have embodied the result of my study on 50 hand prints of 25 Santals. All belong to male sex.

Main-line formulae: It has been observed that the frequency of the three typical formulae 11.9.7.-, 9.7.5.-, and 7.5.5.- varies in different races.

The following types of formulae are obtained, in the right and left palms of the Santals.

TABLE I.

No.	*Right hand Types of formula*	*No.*	*Left hand Types of formula*
1	11.9.7.5.	1	11.9.7.5.
2	11.7.7.5.	2	11.7.7.3.
3	11.7.7.3.	3	9.9.5.5.
4	9.9.7.5.	4	9.7.5.5.
5	9.9.5.5.	5	9.9.5.5.
6.	9.9.5.3.	6	7.9.5.5.
7	9.7.5.5.	7	7.7.5.5.
8	9.9.5.5.	8	7.5.5.5.
9	7.5.5.5.	9	7.5.5.4.
10	7.5.5.3.	10	7.5.5.3.
		11	7.5.5.1.

It can be seen from Table I that the different types of formula appear more in the left hand than in the right hand. In the left hand I have got eleven and in the right ten

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CHAPTER VII

Culture Contact

177 [128] In the concluding chapter I would like to assess the effect of the impact of alien cultures on the life and customs of the Santals of Santal Parganas.

175 648 The Santals according to O'Malley[1] came from Birbhum and first settled in the Santal Parganas between 1790 and 1810. Outside Santal Parganas the Santals had contact with the Hindus but this contact [186] was not very pleasant. They were oppressed by the Zamindars and Mahajans to such an extent that even now they call such non-Santals as "Diku" (those who trouble them). In the Santal Parganas also they were oppressed by the Zamindars and Mahajans, and when this oppression was unbearable in 1855 they became rebellious. After the rebellion the Government declared it as a restricted area. No body without the permission could 175 enter the area. From this it appears that the contact 177 of the Santals with the Hindus in the Santal Parganas 648 in the beginning was not cordial. Naturally the Santals at that time could not have borrowed much culturally from the Hindus. They rather tried to stick to their old customs which would preserve their entity and maintain unity in their rank.

175 **Alien Religious Movements and their effect on the Santal** 177 **religion**: From the earliest records it appears that not 999 much Hindu influence operated in the Santal Parganas to convert them, except for the Kharwar

1. Bengal District Gazetteers (Santal Parganas).

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forgot that he was a Santal. Another Christian who helped me was Babulal Hembrom of Barikul; a villager all his life, at my suggestion he kept a diary of life in Barikul for one year, and I have drawn freely on the material thus provided. The third name I wish to mention is that of the late Binu Hāsdāk', a *parganath* who lived in the village of Tantidanga. For some years he called to see me each week on his way to market; he used to accept a sum of two annas each time he came, not as a dole, but as the equivalent of the hospitality to which he was entitled as a visitor to my home. From him I learnt much about the ideas and customs that ruled his life, as they had done the lives of his ancestors.

A great deal has been written about the Santals, but most of the literature is difficult to find even when you know where to look for it. The bibliography contains a list of the works I have consulted, and acknowledgments have been made in footnotes. It needs to be said, however, that all subsequent workers must remain heavily indebted to that great Norwegian scholar and missionary, the late P. O. Bodding, particularly for his monumental *Santali Dictionary*, which is a veritable encyclopædia of Santal life.

I wish to thank the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal for permission to use material previously published in two papers in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, entitled "Some Notes on Bongaism" (Vol. V, 1939, No. 3) and "Some Beliefs and Customs relating to Birth among the Santals" (Vol. VII, 1941, No. 1). I owe much to the Rev. Edwin Smith, D.D., pre-eminent among missionary anthropologists, who spent Christmas at Sarenga in 1938, and has encouraged me since that time. I am deeply grateful to the Rev. Charles P. Groves, Professor of Missions at the Selly Oak Colleges, who has read the manuscript and saved me from numerous pitfalls, and to my friend the Rev. Wilfred H. Russell, who drew the map, as well as the illustrations on pages 24 and 49. I wish also to thank the Rev. Alec R. Spooner for preparing the Index. My wife has helped with many candid criticisms, constructive suggestions, and, above all, by her comradeship during the years at Sarenga.

W. J. CULSHAW.

BANKURA,
January, 1949.

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CHAPTER 5

SOME FOLK-TALES

FOLK-TALES are meant to entertain, and only incidentally do they instruct. The stories current among the Santals do, however, reveal standards of conduct; they hold up certain types of character as admirable, others as ridiculous or contemptible, and so help to form the judgment of their hearers. Over two hundred stories told by Santals are available in English, for this is a field that early attracted the attention of Europeans living among them. The first in the field was the Rev. F. T. Cole, who in 1875 printed two stories in the *Indian Antiquary*. A further collection of tales was published in 1891, collected by the Rev. A. Campbell. The collection of C. H. Bompas, entitled *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, was published in 1909, and this has remained a standard collection in the West. Bodding's monumental work in three volumes was not published until the years 1925–29. It contains ninety-three stories with Santali text and English translation, and the same plan was followed in his other publications, *A Chapter of Santal Folklore*, which contains ten stories, and *Witchcraft among the Santals*, which contains eight. The editor of this last work, which was published after Bodding's death, states that C. H. Bompas obtained the manuscript of many stories from Bodding.[1]

The field is far from exhausted. All collections that have been published up till now have been gathered either in the Santal Parganas or in the district of Manbhum, except for eleven stories published in a book that deals with the Santals of Mayurbhanj,[2] the extreme south of the Santal country. The tales included here are told in the Bankura district and serve to illustrate the Santal attitude towards many of the facts mentioned in other chapters.

(1) *The Grey Monkey and a Boy*

At the end of a certain bazaar there were a great many trees where lived a band of grey monkeys. Each day one of the

[1] Oslo Ethnographical Museum, *Skrifter Band* 3, Hefte 3, p. 237: "Years ago most of these tales have been retold from Mr. Bodding's manuscripts by C. H. Bompas in *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (London, 1909)." For some of the facts in this paragraph I am indebted to an article entitled "The Folk-Tale in Santal Society", by Mildred Archer, *Man in India*, December 1944, Vol. XXIV.

[2] Charulal Mukherjea, *The Santals*, Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1943.

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they are touching the blue eggs of the *jihu* bird. The Hâsdâk' do not even touch a goose, and they will not take water from a tank in which geese or ducks are swimming at the time. Binu used to say that he had to perform four different sub-clan sacrifices. To two of the spirits pigs were sacrificed in the cowshed at the time of the *Sohrae*, to another spirit they sacrificed a goat in the house at the end of the *Sohrae*, and to the fourth they sacrificed a ram on the open land outside the village at the time of the Spring festival. The Kaṛwar Hâsdâk' tell the story of how long ago their ancestors were celebrating the *Jom Sim* festival and all the Hâsdâk' were present. They had performed the sacrifices and everyone had been served with rice and meat, but some of the younger folk present felt that they had not been given enough to eat, so they killed a buffalo and served that as well. The family of the one who slew the buffalo, or *kaḍa*, became known as Kaṛwar Hâsdâk'. They sacrifice a pig, a white hen and a brown hen at the time of the *Sohrae*; the rite is performed inside the house at sunset, and they must finish eating the flesh during the night, burying whatever is left over in the dung heap. The Hatibaṛi[1] Hâsdâk' sacrifice either a white hen or a ram to their sub-clan spirit. This should be done out in the open beside a white ant hill, but, like some others, they now bring a piece of earth from the ant hill into their cowshed. Like the Nij Maṛndi, of whom this is also true, they may not be vaccinated, but their womenfolk may be tattooed.

The Jihu Hâsdâk' are not allowed to brand their cattle. There seems little reason to doubt the fact that most of the clans use distinctive marks in branding their cattle. Bodding has affirmed of the *dhera dag*, or cross, that although it is used as a mark of ownership of cattle "it is not restricted to any sept or sub-sept".[2] (The word "clan" has been adopted in this book in preference to "sept".) In the Bankura district, however, many of the branding marks are definitely associated with the clans, and the marks correspond to those recorded by Charulal Mukherjea in Mayurbhanj.[3] The marks printed on the opposite page have been noticed in Bankura.

The Guṛ or Betel nut Hembrom constitute one of the most numerous of the Hembrom sub-clans. Of them it is said that "a few days after the ancestors had been divided into clans, one of the Hembrom was born at the foot of a betel nut tree. When he

[1] Literally "elephant house", but the name may refer to a locality.
[2] *Santali Dictionary*, Vol. II, p. 472.
[3] Charulal Mukherjea, *The Santals*, p. 71.

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the centre forms the apex of a triangle. The main beam rests on these walls with rafters sloping from it down to the other two walls. The resulting roof has only two thatches, sloping to the front and the back of the house respectively. The Gar or Fort Murmu are able to provide but little information about their origin, but they maintain their distinctive tradition in the matter of the sub-clan sacrifice. It is performed during the month October-November out in one of their own rice fields. The one sacrificing has to observe the customary abstinence of priests during the previous night, and the sacrifice takes place just after the sun has risen in the morning. A circle of flour paste is made on a spot levelled and cleaned for the purpose, and a larger circle of white stones is constructed round it. All who are going to partake of the flesh have to remain within this enclosure. First of all they sacrifice a black hen, which can be eaten by men only. Next they sacrifice a pig, the flesh of which may be eaten by the women as well. After this they sacrifice a white hen and finally a brown hen, and again it is only the men who may partake of these. The gathering and the attendant feasting last through the whole day, and they return to their houses at nightfall, leaving no food. They believe that some misfortune will fall on them if they have not finished eating while daylight lasts.

There is a sub-clan of the Ṭuḍu known as the Kāṛā or Blind Ṭuḍu which is accounted for in the following way: "The first Kāṛā Ṭuḍu placed a torn cloth behind the fireplace in his house. In the evening when his wife went to cook she found the cloth there and cooked the supper herbs wrapped up in it. Then the man who had put the cloth down came to look for it, and not seeing it behind the fireplace he asked his wife if she had seen it. 'Yes,' she replied, 'it must be the one in which I wrapped the supper herbs.' They raked out the fire and the ashes and saw that she had in fact burnt that cloth."

Many of the points that have been raised in this chapter cannot be understood apart from matters that are dealt with in subsequent chapters. The stories have been gathered together in this way in order to bring out the fact that in the clan system of the Santals and in the myths that form its background there is a key to the understanding of nearly everything that is distinctive in their way of life. The clan organization regulates their behaviour within the tribe and their dealings with the spirits. They accept its rule without question, and so long as they live in closely knit village communities this system, with its manifold implications, will continue to control their lives.